DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 342 092 EA 023 688

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TITLE School Effectiveness and School Restructuring: Contributions to Educational Improvement.
PUB DATE Jan 92
NOTE 39p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the International Congress for School Effectiveness and Improvement (5th, Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, January 1992).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Educational Change; *Educational Improvement; Educational Philosophy; *Effective Schools Research; Elementary Secondary Education; School Based Management; *School Effectiveness; *School Restructuring

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the contributions of the two dominant theories of school improvement--effective schools and school restructuring--to education. The first section reviews effective schools theory; the second section reviews the school restructuring literature, with attention to its extension of tenets of the effective schools paradigm. Each section includes a brief historical overview, a taxonomical or conceptual framework, and details of the major contributions. A conclusion is that the effective schools movement established a basis for school improvement founded on a belief in the educability of all learners and a focus on outcomes, school responsibility, learning-centered teaching, and the whole environment. The school restructuring movement holds promise for educational improvement, based on the legacy of effective schools theory. (48 references) (LMI)

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School Effectiveness and School Restructuring: Contributions to Educational Improvement[1]

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Plenary address for the annual meeting
of the International Congress for School
Effectiveness and School Improvement

Victoria, British Columbia

3 January 1992

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Over the last nearly quarter century, two general lines of work have dominated the school improvement literature. The first, beginning with the work of scholars such as Edmonds and Brookover and carried on with great enthusiasm in one form or another by many folks scattered about this room, is well known to us all as the effective schools movement.[2] The second, commencing less than a decade ago with practitioners, policymakers, and academics throughout the world, focuses on the need for transformational change in schooling and has taken on the sobriquet of school restructuring. The purpose of this address is to examine these two lines of improvement efforts to ascertain their major contributions to schooling and education. In the one case--effective schools--the contributions are more thoroughly documented. In the second--school restructuring--there is more of a sense of promise. In both cases, the goal is to analyze contributions not on a study by study basis, but rather, by employing a macro-level framework, to capture the essential principles of each line of school improvement work.

The procedures employed are as follows. In the first half of the address we review effective schools; in the second half we turn our attention to school restructuring. In each section, a brief historical overview is provided, a taxonomical or conceptual framework is presented, and, most importantly, major contributions are described in detail. Also, in the second half of the presentation, we examine how the school restructuring

literature extends the foundational work of those working within the effective schools paradigm.

Before beginning our review, however, a number of points need to be emphasized. To begin with, for purposes of analysis, I am separating these lines of work into discrete categories. While this is beneficial and relatively easy to do at a conceptual level, it is much more difficult, and as my colleague Phil Hallinger recently reminded me, much less useful to do when examining real life improvement efforts. That is, there is much blending of the ideas from both avenues in many promising school improvement initiatives. I submit to you the Success for All project developed by Robert Slavin and his colleagues at Johns Hopkins University, the Learning Consortium work of Michael Fullan and his colleagues at the University of Toronto and the Halton and Durham Boards of Education, and the Accelerated Schools project created by Henry Levin and his team at Stanford University as examples.

Second, some may interpret my remarks about school restructuring extending school effects work as a critique of the effective schools movement. That would be unfortunate as this is neither the purpose of my comparison nor does it represent my own beliefs. My own reading of the school improvement literature leads me to conclude, as I attempt to convey more fully below, that the legacy of the effective schools movement is indeed impressive. Educational reform via the effective schools model has established a framework that is quickly becoming a necessary

component of any school improvement efforts, especially attempts to improve the education of those students who have been least well served by schooling in the past. In other words, the effective schools movement has contributed essential principles to the larger school improvement literature. At the same time, we are able to see more clearly what is needed in the way of improvements for schools of the 21st Century than we were 25 years ago. The fact that we can view the future more clearly in 1992 than we could in 1970 should not be held against the effective schools movement.

SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS: UNPACKING CONSTRUCTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Convergent Lines of Work, Emerging Frameworks

Reviewing the effective schools literature with this group is not really necessary. So let me instead simply lay out some of the important lines of work that characterize the movement. Through original and usually longitudinal research a number of investigators have developed helpful pictures of effectiveness characteristics in schools--researchers like Mortimore and friends, Rutter, et al., Brookover, Edmonds, Teddlie and Stringfield and their colleagues, and so on. Many others have provided in-depth analyses of particular variables within the effective schools model--folks like Phil Hallinger and W. van de Grift in the area of instructional leadership; Wilbur Brookover, Ellen Goldring, and Janet Chrispeels on the topic of parent-school relationship; Ed Wynne in the area of school rewards; and so forth. Still others, like Murphy and Hallinger, and Miller,

have compiled useful reviews of the work in this area. In addition, analysts like Matt Miles, Karen Seashore Louis, Roland Vandenberghe and Michael Fullan, have focused on the dynamics of making schools more effective. Others still have attended to the policy implications of the effective schools work--especially at the school, district, and state levels. I include much of my own writing in this area as well as some of the recent work of colleagues such as Bill Firestone, Brian Caldwell, Larry Lezotte, and Kent Peterson. Scholars such as Reynolds, Creemers, and Stringfield continue to hammer away at yet another aspect of the work in this area--the robustness of the research itself. Then there are statespersons like Dale Mann and Larry Cuban whose writings provide grist for continued reflective analysis of effective schools work. And finally, sitting in nearly every chair in the room are those of us who labor to apply all this to improving schooling for children and young adults.

In terms of a taxonomy of factors or variables, I turn to the work of Peter Mortimore and his colleagues. While there are a number of worthy competitors, their framework seems to me to be one of the best. For those of us who need a reminder, here is what Mortimore, Sammons, Stoll, Lewis, and Ecob (1988, p. 250) list as the 12 key factors for effective junior schooling:

In the area of <u>school policy</u>

- purposeful leadership of the staff by the head teacher
- involvement of the deputy head
- involvement of teachers

- consistency among teachers

In the area of classroom policy

- structural sessions
- intellectually challenging teaching
- work-centered environment
- limited focus within sessions
- maximum communication between teachers and pupils

And in the area of school and class policy

- record keeping
- parental involvement
- positive climate

So far we have identified some of the key lines of work that have contributed to the effective schools movement and have listed one representative framework that nicely captures key variables associated with effective schools. We turn now to what I see as the legacy of the effective schools movement.

The Legacy of Effective Schools[3]

I culled through the research containing the knowledge base and values of the effective schools movement using the macro-level mindscape in the introduction. I sought out those things that were truly indispensable--principles that cut across studies, findings, and advocacy-based calls for improvement. Perhaps the most important yet surprising conclusion--especially to those among us who maintain a content orientation about effective schools, who see this field of research as a body of knowledge to be transported from school to school--was the fact

that the effective school correlates themselves were not in the foreground of the developing picture. It became clear that the correlates were simply a means to an end--student learning. What were important were the principles that supported the correlates. I was forced to acknowledge that the correlates themselves might look quite different in the future. Factors that helped produce high and equitable levels of student performance under the current system of schooling might not be those that would work best in a different world (Murphy, 1991a). In addition, as Bert Creemers (1990) and W. Van de Grift (1990) have shown, those that were appropriate in one context, the United States for example, might not travel well to others, the Netherlands for example. More importantly, I concluded that as the knowledge base of education--the educational production function, if you prefer--evolves, the correlates are likely to undergo significant alterations. For example, we know now that a focus on basic skills can be counterproductive, especially for so called "at risk" youth. Students learn best when basic and higher order skills are taught simultaneously (Means & Knapp, 1991).

This discovery concerning the nonessential nature of the correlates in no way negates their historical importance. It simply means that, as currently defined, they may no longer be needed, whereas other items are clearly essential. A close reading of the early effective schools researchers reveals that they understood this (Stringfield, personal communication,

16 April 1990). In addition, leading figures in the effective schools movement like Larry Lezotte are already engaged in efforts to see how correlates such as leadership and monitoring will change as the organizational and governance structures of schools are altered and as our knowledge of the teaching-learning process evolves.

What then is the real legacy of the effective schools movement for school improvement? It seems to me that the legacy is fourfold: the educability of learners, a focus on outcomes, taking responsibility for students, and attention to consistency and coordination throughout the school community.

The Educability of Learners

At the heart of the effective schools movement is an attack on the prevailing conception of student learning, one that is captured eloquently and in a more positive fashion in the dominant aphorism of effective schools advocates: all students can learn. Schools historically have been organized to produce results consistent with the normal curve, to sort youth into the various strata needed to fuel the economy. There is a deeply ingrained belief that the function of schooling is to sort students into two groups--those who will work with their heads and those who will toil with their hands (Goodlad, 1984). David Seeley (1988) captures this operating principle nicely when he reports that

> up to now, the actual operating goal of American society [and other nations as well]--whatever the ideal or rhetoric, or the commitment of individual schools or teachers--has been to provide educational services for all children, but

> to expect a "bell curve" distribution of success, with large numbers of children falling in the "mediocre" or "failure" range. (p. 34)

Thus the single most important contribution of the effective schools movement is that it helped push the dominant behavioral psychological model of learning off of center stage in schools throughout the world. While the movement by and large failed to anticipate the constructivist cognitive models of learning that would be needed for the future, it did begin to underscore the importance of alterable, policy-manipulable variables and to direct the attention of academics and practitioners alike to the conditions of learning available in schools.

A Focus on Outcomes

For a variety of reasons (see Meyer & Rowan, 1975), educators--at least those in the United States--have avoided serious inspection of the educational process. Even less attention has been devoted to examining educational outcomes. The quality of education has historically been defined in terms of two interrelated inputs--wealth (and the extra resources wealth allows schools to secure, such as better facilities, more equipment, additional staff, and so forth) and socio-economic status (SES) of students. Given the chance, parents move into high income, high SES school districts and out of low income, low SES ones. The inescapable conclusion, even to the most casual observer, is that the good schools are to be found in the former group and the bad schools in the latter one.

The effective schools movement was the first collective effort to challenge this prevailing view of assessing quality. In Finn's (1990, p. 586) terms, effective schools proponents realized that the input and output end of the oar "were not firmly joined at all. Indeed they were more like two separate oars, capable of moving independently. To pull the one labeled 'inputs,' however energetically, did not necessarily have an effect on the one labeled 'outcomes.'" They also saw quite clearly the pernicious effects of the operant definition of effectiveness on large groups of students. Effective schools advocates argued persuasively that rigorous assessments of schooling were needed and that one could judge the quality of education only by examining student outcomes, especially indices of learning. Equally important, they defined success not in absolute terms but as the value added to what students brought to the educational process. Finally, and most radically divergent from prevailing practice, they insisted that effectiveness depended on an equitable distribution of learning outcomes across the entire population of the school. This focus on the equitable distribution of the important outcomes of schooling is the second major contribution of the effective schools movement to the school improvement literature.

Taking Responsibility for Students

When quality education is defined primarily in terms of resources and student SES, when failure is an inherent characteristic of the learning model employed, and when the

function of schooling is to sort children into "heads" and "hands," it is not difficult to discern responsibility for what happens to students--accountability lies elsewhere than with school personnel. Indeed, the prevailing explanations for student failures before the effective schools movement focused on deficiencies in the students themselves and in the home/community environments in which they were nurtured: "in short, since the beginning of public education, poor academic performance and deviant behavior have been defined as problems of individual children or their families" (Cuban, 1989, p. 781).

Effective schools researchers and practitioners were the first group to reject this philosophy. As Cuban (1989, p. 784) correctly notes, "the effective schools movement shifted the focus of efforts to deal with poor academic performance among low income minorities from the child to the school." Thus, the third major contribution of the effective schools movement to the larger body of school improvement is its attack on the practice of blaming the victim for the shortcomings of the school itself, its insistence upon requiring the school community to take a fair share of the responsibility for what happens to the youth in its care.

Attention to Consistency Throughout the School Community

One pundit--Larry Lezotte, I believe--has described a school as a collection of individual entrepreneurs (teachers) surrounded by a common parking lot. Another says a school is a group of classrooms held together by a common heating and cooling system.

While I acknowledge the hyperbole in these definitions, I also realize that it is the accuracy of the statements that brings a smile to our faces when we hear them for the first time. The picture they convey captures an essential condition of schools--at least of those in the United States: they are very loosely linked organizations. What unfolds in one classroom may be quite different from what happens in another. Activity in the principal's (or superintendent's) office is likely to have little impact on either classroom. A unified sense of mission is generally conspicuous by its absence. Curriculum is not well integrated across grade levels or among various program areas. We claim to teach one thing (objectives), while we generally teach something quite different (textbooks), and almost invariably test students using assessment instruments (norm referenced achievement tests) based on neither.

One of the most powerful and enduring lessons from all the research on effective schools is that the better schools are more tightly linked--structurally, symbolically, and culturally--than the less effective ones. They operate more as an organic whole and less as a loose collection of disparate subsystems. There is a great deal of consistency within and across the major components of the organization, especially those of the production function--the teaching-learning process. Staff, parents, and students share a sense of direction. Components of the curriculum--objectives, materials, assessment strategies--are tightly aligned. Staff share a common instructional language.

Expectations for performance are similar throughout the school community and rewards and punishments are consistently distributed to students. This overarching sense of consistency and coordination is a key element that cuts across the effectiveness correlates and permeates better schools. It represents a major contribution of the effective schools literature to our understanding of school improvement.

SCHOOL RESTRUCTURING: UNPACKING FRAMEWORKS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

History and Model

The newest line of work in the area of school improvement is widely known as school restructuring. This movement, still less than a decade old, appears to have taken off almost simultaneously in a number of countries throughout the world, e.g., New Zealand, England, and Australia. In the United States, the restructuring phenomena is generally traced to the release of two influential reform reports--Tomorrow's Teachers by the Holmes Group (1986) and Teachers for the 21st Century by the Carnegie Forum (1986). As with effective schools, a number of scholars are attempting to address the totality of restructuring; that is, in some systematic fashion to examine all of the components and elements which define the construct. Our efforts at the National Center for Educational Leadership are representative of this work as are the studies being conducted at national centers on restructuring at the University of Wisconsin and Teachers College. Most investigators, however, because of the tremendous complexity of school restructuring, have chosen to focus on one

or more of the components of the larger puzzle--for example, folks like Penelope Peterson and Richard Elmore on the teaching-learning piece, Bill Boyd and Hedley Beare on choice, Brian Caldwell and Daniel Brown on school-based management, and Art Wise and David Clark on teacher professionalism. Others are isolating particular roles within restructuring schools. In the area of the principalship, for example, some very nice work is being done by Paul Bredeson, Judith Chapman, Philip Hallinger, and Tom Sergiovanni.

Before turning to an analysis of the contributions of school restructuring to school improvement, it may be useful, as we did above with effective schools, to lay out a conceptual picture of the phenomena under investigation. Because so few such frameworks are available, I will take the liberty of sharing my own model.[4] As with the Mortimore framework, the purpose is to see more clearly the key elements which allow us to extract the major contributions of school restructuring to the larger body of school improvement literature. At the heart of the conceptual framework presented in Figure 1 are significant alterations in the relationships among the players involved in the educational process. The changes, in turn, become evident through alterations in the methods employed to design and carry out work; the procedures emphasized in the governance, organization, and management of the system; and the strategies undergirding the learning-teaching process. In more tangible terms, all of these changes find expression in four strategies commonly associated

with restructuring: school-based management, parental voice and choice, teacher professionalism, and teaching for meaningful understanding. While it is premature to determine what the legacy of this reform activity still in its infancy may be, it is feasible to discern major contributions of school restructuring at the conceptual level. It is also possible to see where these contributions extend foundations laid down by workers in the area of effective schools.

Legacy

In order to facilitate the analysis here, we employ a framework developed by Talcott Parsons, a three-part model of an organization comprised of a technical level at the base, a managerial level in the middle, and an institutional level at the top. If you think of these three pieces as layers of a triangle, you will have a picture in your mind of Parson's model.

Technical Level

In education, the technical core refers to the learning-teaching aspects of schooling--to curriculum, instruction, and assessment. It is in this area, contrary to all the hoopla surrounding other aspects of restructuring, that the transformational reform movement promises to leave its most enduring mark on education. We noted earlier that the effective schools movement was influential in pushing prevailing, and deeply entrenched, behavioral psychological perspectives on learning and teaching off of center stage. That is, workers in the effective schools vineyards rejected the notion that some

students were incapable of high levels of achievement. In its stead, came a new philosophy--the idea that all students can learn. Thus as Willower (1988) correctly concludes, "work on effective schools has served to reemphasize the basic instructional purpose of school" (p. 734). What school effectiveness advocates failed to accomplish, however, was to develop an alternative framework to the behavioral model. While the effective schools movement has been able to develop some strategies that are consistent with the belief that all students can learn--e.g., more heterogeneous grouping, less reliance on pull-out programs, it has failed to articulate the principles for new models of learning which can inform the redesign and transformation of learning and teaching in schools implementing effective schools correlates. Thus the major weakness of effective schools work is, as we have noted elsewhere, its failure to systematically address technical core issues. More specifically, because most of us in the effective schools movement have been primarily interested in improving the schools we currently have, we have neglected our most fundamental task--the formulation of a framework about learning from which improvement efforts can gain energy.

The effective schools movement, while recognizing and leveling devastating attacks on the existing system of learning and teaching, has been unable in many ways, and certainly in any fundamental fashion, to get beyond these deficiencies. A reasonable interpretation of this literature is that the changes

in the technical core have been on the margins--enhancing current teaching strategies to impart existing curricular materials to students who historically have not mastered them. The reason this is so, to reemphasize, is that the effective schools movement, absent an alternative vision for the technical core, accepted uncritically key elements of extant practice from the very model it helped cripple. Thus, still embedded in the effective schools framework for improvement are a number of ideas--technical conception of teaching, teaching for skill mastery, a product orientation, teacher-centered classrooms, an emphasis on declarative knowledge, and so forth--that no longer find expression in the model of learning which is at the heart of school restructuring. It is in the development of this alternative perspective that school restructuring most directly extends effective schools work, and where it is likely to make its greatest contribution to school improvement writ large.

The school restructuring movement offers the promise of providing schools with a more robust understanding of the educational production function that, in turn, may generate fairly radical changes in the design and the unfolding of learning experiences. Cognitive, constructivist, and sociological perspectives on learning, especially what Maehr and Midgley (in press) refer to as "social cognitive theories of motivation and achievement" (p. 4) provide new perspectives for the behavioral psychological conceptions of learning that were pushed into the background. There is a shift away from technical

conceptions of teaching and toward "research on cognition as a basis for understanding how people learn" (Hutchins, 1988, p. 48)--a shift that "casts an entirely different perspective on how the schooling process should be designed" (p. 48).

At the center of this newly-forming alternative model of learning are fairly radical changes in assumptions about intelligence and knowledge.[5] The view that "knowledge can be assumed to be an external entity existing independently of human thought and action, and hence, something about which one can be objective" (Fisher, 1990, p. 82)--"dominant for so long in classroom practice, has begun to be critically examined in a new way" (p. 84). A new view, one that holds that knowledge is internal and subjective, that it "depends on the values of the persons working with it and the context within which that work is conducted" (p. 82), is receiving serious consideration. Thus, the new educational design considers "knowledge not as somehow in the possession of the teacher, waiting to be transmitted to the student or to be used to treat the students' problems, but as mutually constructed by teacher and student in order to make sense of human experience" (Petrie, 1990, pp. 17-18). "Knowledge is a human creation rather than a human reception" (Cohen, 1988, p. 12). Knowledge is personal and the learning of skills is embedded in a "social and functional context" (Collins, Hawkins, & Carver, 1991, p. 173).

New views about what is worth learning also characterize the school restructuring movement. The traditional emphasis on acquiring information is being replaced by a focus on learning to learn and on the ability to use knowledge. Maintenance learning that "involves acquiring fixed outlooks, methods, and rules for dealing with known events and recurring situations" (Banathy, 1988, p. 58) takes a back seat to evolutionary learning that empowers students "to anticipate and face unexpected situations" (p. 59). New perspectives on the context of learning are also being developed, directing attention to active learning. A century old concern for independent work and competition--a focus on the individual dimension of human existence, especially on individual ability--is slowly receding in favor of more cooperative learning relationships--a focus on the social dimensions of human existence. The utilitarian ethic which remains central to effective schools--a competitive ethic which emphasizes the morality of actions which increases one's chances to succeed--is overshadowed by the more transformative ethics of social justice and caring (Murphy, 1991b). A "whole new orientation in providing experiences for learning intellectual skills and pursuing methods of inquiry" (Banathy, 1988, p. 64) is being foreshadowed in early discussions about the core technology in the school restructuring movement.

"An elevated conceptualization of teaching" (Rallis, 1990, p. 193) consistent with these new views of learning is at the heart of school restructuring efforts. The view of the teacher

as a professional rather than as a technician is finding more and more acceptance, as the humanistic focus of redesigned schools provides an "alternative to the culture of schooling dominated by a technocratic mindset" (Rogers & Polkinghorn, in press, p. 8). The conception of the teacher as reflective practitioner is becoming increasingly embedded in discussions of school restructuring, as are the metaphors of teacher as leader, decision maker, learner, and colleague (McCarthey & Peterson, 1989). Knowledge from the science of teaching is no longer "epistemologically privileged" (Sergiovanni, 1991, p. 327). Thus, craft knowledge, or the "epistemology of practice" (Zeichner & Tubachnich, 1991, p. 2), receives new-found respect. Unlike in the effective schools literature, rather than seeking ways to simplify instruction, to uncover a scientifically correct method, the complexity of teaching is acknowledged and nurtured in school restructuring frameworks.

A learner-centered pedagogy replaces the more traditional model of teacher-centered instruction. The model of the teacher as "a pipeline for Truth" (Cohen, 1988, p. 12) or a "sage on a stage" (Fisher, 1990, p. 83), in which instructors are viewed as content specialists who possess relevant knowledge that they transmit to students through telling, is replaced by an approach in which "teaching is more like coaching, where the student (as opposed to the teacher) is the primary performer" (p. 83). Substantive conversation replaces conventional classroom talk (Newmann, 1991) and didactic instruction. Dialogue becomes "the

central medium for teaching and learning" (Means & Knapp, 1991, p. 12). In the general literature, restructured schools are viewed as "knowledge work" organizations (Schlechty, 1990, p. 42), learning as "meaning making" (Petrie, 1990, p. 19), and teaching "as facilitating the construction of meaning" (p. 18). In restructured classrooms teachers act as facilitators, modelers, guides, scaffold builders, and coaches who invest "students with increased power and responsibility for their own learning" (Elmore, 1988, p. 3).

In addition to reorienting the technical core around cognitive conceptions of learning, the restructuring movement offers the promise of reinvigorating our thinking about the governance and management of schools as well. In both of these areas, effective schools reformers have been prone to accept schools as they are: professionally dominated, hierarchical, delivery systems. On the other hand, in both of these domains improvement agents working under the banner of school restructuring offer up dramatically different images of schooling. Since in actuality the purpose of schooling and the nature of the educational process itself are largely determined by the form of organizational structures and policies and by methods of organizing, governing, and managing, these new images also have significant implications for the educational process as well. In the remainder of this paper, we analyze these new images and discuss how they extend effective schools work and

their contributions to the larger body of school improvement literature.

Institutional Level

At the institutional level--the interface of the school with its larger environment--many school restructuring advocates envision the demise of schooling as a sheltered government monopoly. In its stead, they forecast the emergence of a system of schooling and, more importantly for our purposes here, improvement designs driven by market forces. Embedded in this conception are a number of interesting dynamics, all of which gain motive force from a realignment of power and influence between professional educators and lay members of the community. To begin with, the traditional dominant relationship--with professional educators on the playing field and parents on the sidelines acting as cheerleaders or agitators, or more likely passively watching the action--is replaced by a more equal distribution of influence. Partnerships begin to merge (Seeley, 1981). At the same time, the number of stakeholders in the schooling game increases, their legitimate influence expands, and the roles they play are broadened.

Let us examine how these changes enhance conceptions of improvement ingrained in effective schools improvement efforts. To the effective schools movement goes much of the credit for recognizing the school as the major unit of change.[6] One of the important contributions of school restructuring work is the legitimization and extension of this notion through the

deregulation of schooling--with the concomitant redistribution of power from distal agencies to the local school site and, equally important, at the school site from educators to parents. The effective schools movement has also been at the forefront of efforts to reunite parents and schools. While Comer's criticisms that the type of parental involvement in effective schools is limited and that it occurs mainly in response to decisions already executed by teachers and administrators is largely accurate, it is also true that improvement programs based on effective schools principles have been very successful in reengaging parents in at least one critical component of schooling, the academic program. Using terms provided by Brookover and his colleagues (1982), the effective schools movement has raised the stakes from parental involvement to parental support. Much of the literature suggests that school restructuring improvement efforts will result in an even more robust conception of the role of parents in schools, that it will open the governance dimensions of schooling as well.

The notion of the school as an organic whole is central to school effectiveness work (Purkey & Smith, 1983). The legacy of consistency and coordination across the entire school that we discussed earlier is at the heart of this idea. While this conception represents a major contribution to our understanding of school improvement, it suffers from a serious flaw--the unit of attention is the school itself, not the expanded school community. Improvement efforts based on school restructuring

principles promise to enlarge our understanding of consistency and coordination by including connections between the school and the larger environment. A focus on systemic activity supplements the notion of the organic whole. A focus on schooling is augmented with attention to issues of children's and family policy. Included in this larger perspective are efforts to: (1) unite schools, businesses, universities, foundations, and so forth around the needs of children and their families; (2) mesh the efforts of the disparate variety of service agencies--including education--within the structure of schooling; (3) develop schools as educational service centers for all members of the community; and, to make all these changes more feasible (Murphy, in press b).

A dramatically different model of change, largely unanticipated by the effective schools movement, is a final area where school restructuring may leave indelible markings on the institutional fabric of school improvement. We hinted at it above in the discussion of an expanded role for parents in school governance. What school restructuring might produce, for better or worse, is a legitimatized political model of change--one that stands in sharp contrast to the technically driven model that currently dominates improvement programs. It is no accident that effective schools improvement programs highlight technical issues such as instructional leadership, monitoring student progress, expectations, and so forth while school restructuring efforts feature issues such as parental choice and voice, empowerment,

and deregulation. It is knowledge of the political fabric of restructuring that allows us to understand why these efforts continue to be promulgated in the face of a nearly total absence of information that they will lead to better outcomes for children. In reality, the sanctioning of a political model of change has little to do with technical improvements in schools.

Managerial Level

The major contribution of effective schools work in the area of organization and management is twofold: (1) a re-recognition that school leadership can make a difference in the lives of students and teachers; and (2) a redirection of managerial energy away from administration qua administration and toward leadership, especially leadership in the learning-teaching area. School effectiveness has contributed a sense of managerial efficacy and the metaphor of principal as instructional leader to the larger improvement literature.[7] School effectiveness improvement efforts stop short, however, of fundamentally reshaping leadership or the existing organizational model of schooling. In the effective schools improvement model, leadership is primarily hierarchical (the principal is a bigger leader than the assistant principal who, in turn, is a bigger leader than a department chair), partitioned out to specific (organizationally sanctioned) roles, and grounded in and legitimatized by the bureaucracy. Thus we generally see a strong, direct, and top down model of leadership in effective schools improvement designs. We talk of the principal's vision

and much of the focus of leadership is in securing allegiance to that vision and applying appropriate technical solutions to existing problems. What Leithwood and his colleagues (1992), Sergiovanni (1991), Fullan (1991), and others have shown is that this picture of leadership conveys only a portion of the activities associated with effective school management. What Beare (1989), Clark & Meloy (1989), and others have shown is that this conception of organization, already highly dysfunctional, is unlikely to serve us any better in the future (Murphy, 1991a).

At the managerial level, it is through the development of more robust conceptions of leadership and organization that school restructuring may leave its mark on the larger body of school improvement literature. Hierarchical bureaucratic organizational structures that have defined improvement efforts in learning, leadership, and schooling in the past are replaced by more organic (Weick & McDaniel, 1989), more decentralized (Guthrie, 1986), and more professionally controlled systems (David, 1989)--systems that "suggest a new paradigm for school organization and management" (Mulkeen, 1990, p. 105). The basic shift is from a "power over approach . . . to a power to approach" (Sergiovanni, 1991, p. 57). This change spotlights "four interrelated values--participation, communication/community, reflection and experimentation" (Rogers & Polkinghorn, in press, p. 6).

Embedded in school restructuring improvement efforts are "very basic changes in roles, relationships, and

responsibilities" (Seeley, 1988, p. 35): traditional patterns of authority are often altered (Rallis, 1990); authority flows are less hierarchical (Murphy, 1991a)--traditional distinctions between administrators and teachers are blurred (Petrie, 1990); role definitions are both more general and more flexible--specialization is no longer viewed as a strength (Houston, 1989); leadership is dispersed and is connected to competence for needed tasks rather than to formal position (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1988); and independence and isolation are replaced by cooperative work (Beare, 1989). The traditional structural orientation to improvement which characterizes effective schools work is overshadowed by a focus on the human element (Schlechty, 1990). Developing learning climates and organizational adaptivity is substituted for the more traditional emphasis on uncovering and applying the one best model of performance (McCarthey & Peterson, 1989) and a premium is placed on organizational flexibility (Banathy, 1988). All of this reveals a reorientation in the school restructuring improvement model from bureaucratic to moral authority and from bureaucratic control to professional empowerment--or control through "professional socialization, purposing and shared values, and collegiality and natural interdependence" (Sergiovanni, 1991, p. 60). It also reveals an orientation toward accountability through professionalization "rather than through micromanaging what the professional does" (Petrie, 1990, p. 24). It provides a

radically different view of leadership and organization on which to base improvement efforts (Murphy, 1991; in press b).

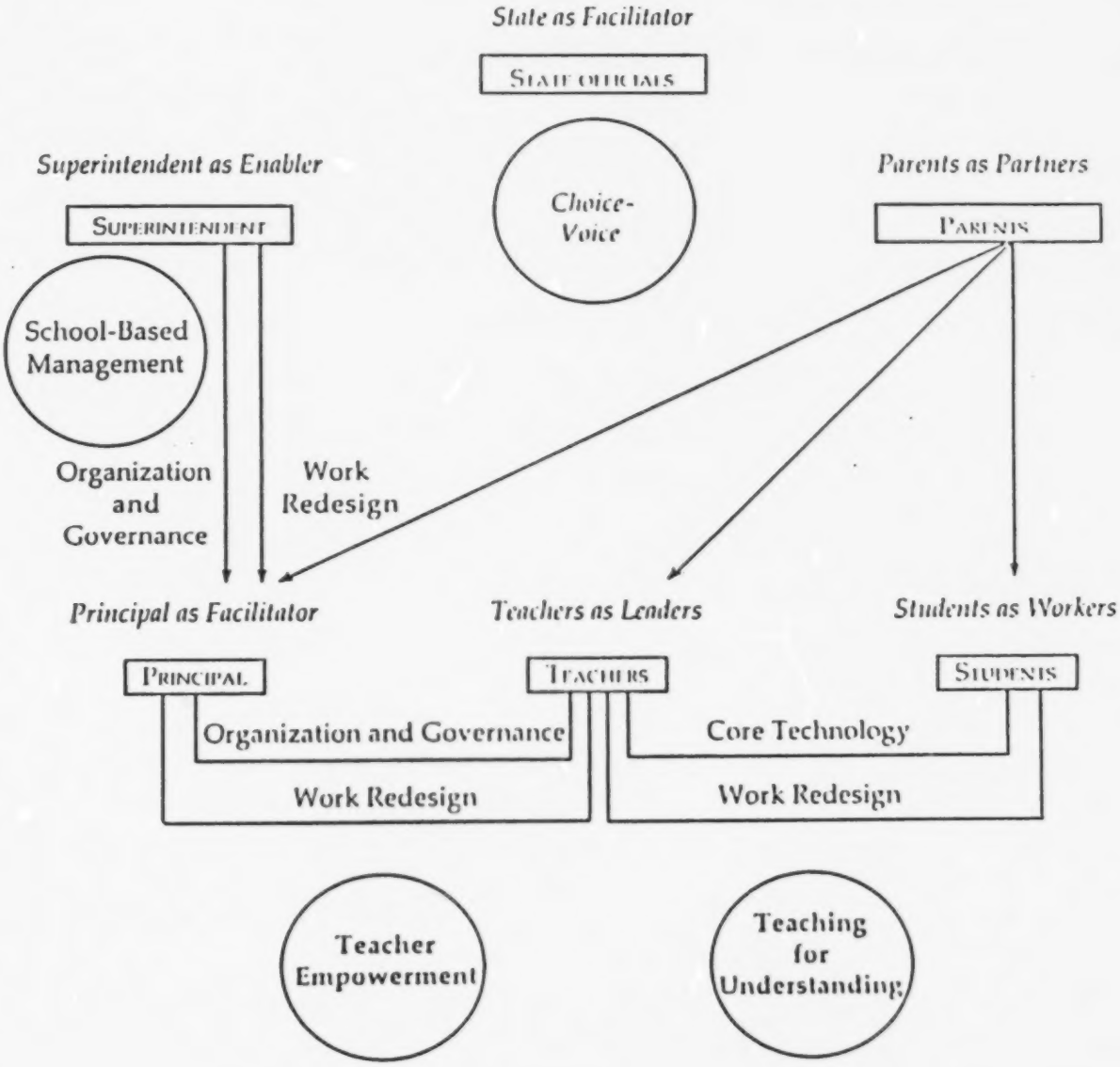
SUMMARY

Over the last quarter century, we have learned a good deal about school improvement. Our knowledge has come to us from a variety of sources--work on program implementation, staff development, instructional leadership, and so forth--and in a variety of forms--testimonials, syntheses of activities, action research projects, experimental studies, and so forth. During that time, school effectiveness research has been the most important broad avenue of work. It helped lay and firmly anchor a number of essential elements that must form the foundation for any systematic attack in the area of school improvement. Effective schools advocates established that improvement efforts must be grounded on the belief that all students can succeed and that we must assess that belief on the anvil of student performance data. These women and men--practitioners, policymakers, and academics alike--also built into the foundation of future improvement efforts a willingness to look inward when strategies fail to produce desired results. That is, they provided a lethal attack on our willingness to attribute failure to children and youth and to their families. In establishing this legacy for school improvement, they helped push prevailing behavioral approaches to learning off center stage. Effective schools workers also reestablished the primacy of learning and

teaching in schools and channeled improvement efforts into consistent and overlapping streams of action.

School restructuring promises to be the most important broad avenue of school improvement in the quarter century having started around 1985. There is at least some reason to believe that school restructuring will provide us with the excellence edifice that still needs to be constructed on the foundations provided by the effective schools movement. The school restructuring movement promises us viable alternatives to behaviorally-grounded models of learning and teaching, to hierarchical models of organizing and managing education, and to bureaucratic and professionally-dominated models of governing schools. In many ways, the promise of school restructuring for the larger body of school improvement is as profound, if not more so, than the legacy of effective schools. Time will tell if this robust movement comes to fruition.

Figure 1. Restructuring schools: A conceptual framework.



From J. Murphy, Restructuring schools: Capturing and assessing the phenomena. New York: Teachers College Press, 1991 (p. 16).

Notes

[1]Support for this research was provided by the National Center for Educational Leadership (NCEL) under U.S. Department of Education Contract No. R 117C8005. The views in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the sponsoring institution nor the Universities in the NCEL Consortium--The University of Chicago, Harvard University, and Vanderbilt University.

[2]Histories of the effective schools movement have been provided by Miller (1985) and Murphy, Hallinger, and Mesa (1985).

[3]The ideas in this section are taken from J. Murphy, Effective schools: Legacy and future directions. In D. Reynolds & P. Cuttance (Eds.), School effectiveness: Research, policy and practice. Cassell's.

[4]Figure 1 is taken from J. Murphy, Restructuring schools: Capturing and assessing the phenomena. New York: Teachers College Press, p. 16, 1991.

[5]The discussion of the core technology in restructured schools is adopted from J. Murphy, The landscape of leadership preparation. Patterns and possibilities. Beverly Hills: Corwin/Sage, forthcoming.

[6]This recognition has been a mixed blessing at times. See Zywine et al., (1991) and Murphy, Hallinger, and Mesa (1985).

[7]For a deeper analysis of variations in leadership in effective schools see Hallinger and Murphy (1985).

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